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November 11, 1974

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Briefly About the Source and Flow in the Development of Thought

- A tentative discussion of the relations between class struggle and the Confucian-Legalist struggle

by

Fang Hai (方海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 10, October 20, 1974)

In the study of the history of Chinese philosophy how to dialectically examine the beginning and development of one kind of thought from the relationship between the "source" and "flow" is a most important question having a bearing on whether or not this particular idea can be correctly understood and appraised.

What is the "source" and "flow" in the development of the process of thinking? What is called "source" refers to social practice, the source where ideas come from and are developed. What is known as "flow" means the development of any idea that is inseparable from the scheme of ideas conceived by those before us. Studying the development of thought from the dialectical relationship between the "source" and "flow" thus means putting one type of idea into a given environment of class struggle and undertaking concrete investigations from the relationship between social practice and the development of thought at a particular time.

Given ideas and culture are the political and economic reflections of a given society in concept and ideology. In his discussion of the fountainhead of all types of literature and art, Chairman Mao once penetratingly pointed out that social practice and the life of the people are the only inexhaustible source of all kinds of literature and art. This is the only source because having only such an origin there cannot be a second source. This is so with literature and art. It also applies to a school of thought, a thinker. Ideas that come from them are the product of social practice at a given time and, without exception, are stamped with the deep brand of a class. Take the study of the Confucian-Legalist struggle as an example. This struggle cannot be divorced from investigations into the background of class struggle as a whole. It ran through the feudal society through its entire course, making its influence felt to this day. However, with the advent, development and decline of feudal society, the Confucian-Legalist struggle in succeeding generations was characterized by major areas of difference in content.

During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods when the slave system was replaced by the feudal system, the opposing Confucian and Legalist schools directly reflected the antagonisms between the backward slave owners and the newly rising landlord class. From the Ch'in and Han periods until the founding of the Western Han Dynasty a unified feudal empire had already been established. The Confucian-Legalist rivalry began

to manifest itself in the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. From the founding of the Ch'in empire to the fall of the Western Han royal court the struggles between restoration and counter-restoration that lasted for nearly 250 years had not ceased. The remnants of the slave-owning class either sneaked into central government structures to engage the landlord class in "heart-rending combat," such as the Shachiu counter-revolutionary coup staged by Chao Kao after the death of Ch'in Shih Huang, or colluded with the local secessionist forces, that is, the conservative faction that had appeared from within the landlord class, such as big slave owners in industry and commerce and local princes in various localities during the early Western Han period. It was not until the reign of Emperor Ching of Han when the "rebellion of seven states," including Wu and Ch'u, and after the political and economic counter-attacks launched by slave owners and big merchants had been put down and inroads by the Huns successfully resisted during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han was the landlord class dictatorship based on the centralization of state authority stabilized. During this period the Confucian school was represented by the remnants of slave owners and conservative elements of the landlord class, that is, local divisive forces. The Legalist school on the other hand was represented by the Legalist leadership group operating within the central government that had advocated a unified empire. The struggles between revolution and counter-revolution and between restoration and counter-restoration throughout the entire dynastic period, including overt and covert strivings, bloody and bloodless contests, as well as political and economic, military and cultural struggles provide an immense wealth of experience in class and line struggles.

The danger of a slave-owning class restoration was in the main over during the period after the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, but the Confucian-Legalist struggle had not ceased because of this. The steady decline of the four succeeding Han generations -- Yuan, Ch'eng, Ai and P'ing -- did much to elevate the theoretical position of Confucianism. The Wang Mang usurpation of the throne which occurred in the last year of the Western Han, together with the regressive political measures he had adopted to restore the old order in every respect, contributed to the adverse outcome brought about by the reactionary line of applauding Confucianism pursued since the reign of Emperor Yuan of Han. However, there was no way out for regression. The Wang Mang restoration did not last long. It was very quickly toppled by the fierce flames of the peasant uprising fanned by a force formed by a band of "green forest army" [roving bandits] in Ch'ihmei. The Eastern Han regime was set up by powerful clans and big landlords as the mainstay after they had seized the fruits of the peasant uprising. As an unbecoming Legalist representative, Liu Hsiu became Emperor Kuang-wu of Han by using "Heavenly mandate" as a pretext and issuing an imperial edict "proclaiming divinations in the empire." Therefore, the final emergence of the Eastern Han royal court was characterized by the rule of powerful clans, landlords and illustrious families. The Confucian-Legalist struggle during this and later periods was reflected in the antagonisms and strivings between powerful clans and landlords and those middle and small landlords who came of humble families. Prominent Legalists at that time, such as Huan T'an and Wang Ch'ung, were spokesmen for the

middle and small landlords. Dissatisfied with the powerful landlords' manipulation of political power, they called for redistribution of power within the landlord class. In so doing they demonstrated discernible tendencies of revering Legalism and opposing Confucianism. However, with the danger of restoring the slave system becoming a thing of the past during the post-Western Han period, the contradictions between the landlords and the peasants increasingly intensified. This resulted in the gradual transformation of the landlord class from being a real tiger to becoming a paper tiger. The Legalist teachings were no longer looked upon with favor by the landlord class which turned to Confucian ideas that had been appropriately processed and remolded because they met the needs of that class. This transformation was a twist of history the exploiting classes were powerless to alter. Even Legalist representatives like Huan-T'an and Wang Ch'ung were no longer as outspoken as Legalists Shang Yang and Han Fei of the early Ch'in. In these circumstances the class base of the Confucian-Legalist struggle from the Eastern Han to the Sung had undergone changes. The Confucian doctrine became the philosophical orthodoxy of the landlord class while the Legalists were dislodged as the representatives of the newly rising class and became the reformists of the landlord class. At this stage of the Confucian-Legalist struggle Legalist thinkers who to a certain extent were donning the Confucian cloak were pitted against the orthodox Confucianists. It was during this period that the Legalists proposed certain reforms with the prevailing acute social and national exigencies in mind. They firmly called for cohesion and resistance and opposed divisions and capitulation, apart from unmasking and repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. However, they were powerless to resolve the feudal society's increasingly serious basic contradictions or find a way out for the tottering feudal system. Particularly after the failure of the Wang An-shih reform of the Northern Sung, Confucian supremacy in the feudal society was becoming more and more firmly established. In the wake of increasing Confucian repression and persecution of the Legalists, wave after wave of honor-Confucianism and oppose-Legalism outcries began to persist.

Since the Ming and Ch'ing periods which ushered in the final stage and gradual decline of feudal society, capitalist tendencies within the feudal society began to sprout. However, these feeble stirrings were largely confined to the eastern and southern coastal regions and had been occasionally exposed to repressive moves taken by the feudal rulers. It was during this period that Confucianism was exalted to frightening proportions. The Confucian canon was regarded as sacred dogma. The Legalists at the time appeared as rebels of Confucianism, their representatives being Li Chih, Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in and Kung Tzu-chen. They fiercely attacked the school of reason, the feudal society's philosophical orthodoxy and quite penetratingly exposed the seamy side of the feudal ruling factions. Despite their repudiation of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in varying degrees, they nevertheless were reluctant or dared not completely break with Confucian and Mencian teachings. They even dared not openly unfurl the Legalist banner. In struggle they were not as confident over their future as the Legalists prior to the Western Han for they were full of grievances and despair. They were dissatisfied with the feudal society

and what it stood for but were unable to find a way out. In history, however, they had contributed something definitive. This is because though they were unable to find a way out their unmaskings of the old society spurred people to entertain doubts and produce dissatisfied feelings against this society. This to a certain extent contributed ideologically and prepared public opinion in favor of ushering in a new era. While they contributed in a destructive sense to the old society they played no part toward the building of the new world. But destruction itself was conducive to the birth of a new world. When later China's national bourgeoisie embarked on the bourgeois democratic revolution, quite a number of thinkers, including Chang T'ai-yen and others, made use of the ideas conceived by the Legalists of this period.

A general survey of the entire course of feudal society shows that Confucianism and Legalism not only had different class bases at different periods, their struggles were characterized by differences in both content and form. In the final analysis this was determined by the practice and development of class struggle. The Confucian-Legalist struggle not only contributed differently in the early, middle and later stages of feudal society, with different forms and characteristics, but Legalist teachings during the same period were likewise expressed differently by different Legalist representatives. Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o and Sang Hung-yang were all Legalist representatives in the early Han. But with the increasing intensification of the Confucian-Legalist rivalry, their individual ideological inclinations also varied in their revere-Confucianism and oppose-Legalism approaches and responses. Chia I lived during the reign of Emperor Wen of Han, a period marked by the initial stage of "stability" of the Western Han royal court, with the empire confronting the local secessionist forces in well-matched trials of strength. Although in this class struggle situation Chia I advocated striking at the local divisive forces and fully affirmed the Shang Yang reform and Ch'in Shih Huang's unification scheme, he made no attempt to unfurl the Legalist banner unhesitantly. Furthermore, since he had been influenced by the Confucian teachings he made the wrong assessment in his published treatise about the causes of the collapse of the Ch'in empire. On the other hand, Ch'ao Ts'o lived in the period of Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching, a period in which the Han imperial court was preoccupied with settling the problem of secession posed by the seven ducal states including Wu and Ch'u. It was in such an acute class struggle situation that Ch'ao Ts'o set forth his Legalist views in more clearcut terms. Having closely examined the Legalist theories of Shen Pu-hai and Shang Yang, he proposed and implemented a Legalist line of strengthening centralization of power and striking at the remnant forces of the slave owners. Sang Hung-yang's Legalist concept was even more forthright than that of Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o. He had worked closely for Emperor Wu of Han for decades and assisted the emperor in the formulation and implementation of a series of important policies contributing to the centralization of state authority and resistance to inroads by the Huns. He had been put to the acid test in protracted class struggle and was therefore firm in carrying out the Legalist line. When an adverse current identified with restoration and regressive moves whipped up by the conservative

faction of the big landlords and local remnant forces of the slave owners appeared after Emperor Wu's death, Sang Hung-yang firmly defended and upheld Emperor Wu's line, incisively repudiated the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and engaged the Confucianists in tit-for-tat struggles.

After we have closely examined these historical figures like Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o and Sang Hung-yang and the different class struggle situations into which they had been thrust, we can see that though they were Legalists they expressed their individual ideas and played different roles in the class struggle which prevailed at the time. Lu Hsün put it rightly: "I always think that in making comments on an article the best way is to treat the article as a whole and take the writer's whole person into account with consideration for his social status. This will make the comment more accurate."

While stressing the "source" in the study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle, we do not mean the study of the "flow" is unimportant. Any process of thinking must proceed from the ideas and concepts collected by those before us. Engels pointed out: "As a specially designated area of division of work the philosophy of every epoch proceeds from the premise of those particular ideas transmitted by the forerunners." The Legalists were not isolated but formed a school of thought. Han Fei's philosophy was a product of class struggle at that time but his views absorbed Hsün Tzu's materialist philosophy and historical concept of "following the examples of later kings." By critically accepting the theoretical attainments of Legalist forerunners, Han Fei systematized and synthesized all previous teachings of the Legalist thinkers like Shang Yang, Shen Pu-hai and Shen Tao and brought them to their highest development. In terms of the teachings of the later Legalist thinkers, the teachings of the Legalist thinkers of the early Ch'in served as the "flow." The latter's teachings which embodied ideas in favor of reform, advance and unification and against conservatism, regression and division were absorbed and carried forward by many Legalist thinkers during the period of feudal society. In like manner the continuity of Confucian teachings was fostered by Confucius, Mencius, Tung Chung-shu, Chu Hsi and others whose preachings likewise embodied the elements of restoration and regression.

The study of the "flow" of either Legalist or Confucian teachings will not only enable us to perceive the continuity and links in the development of philosophy but make it possible for us to discern the individual characteristics of thinkers belonging to the same class. Men's ideas have something in common, being the product of class struggle and social practice in a particular age. However, because thinkers of the same class had been influenced by traditional culture and different schools of thought, their individual traits tended to vary in accordance with their different backgrounds and different social environments.

Since the study of the "flow" of the various schools of thought would identify the continuity of the development of ideas and the relationship between common and individual characteristics in the course of such

development, it is most helpful to our understanding of the different schools and trends of thought as well as the strivings in the ideological sphere today. In his brilliant work Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Lenin pointed out: "Behind the senseless jumble of the theory of knowledge regarding materialism and empirio-criticism, we cannot but take note of the partisan struggles in philosophy. This striving in the last analysis illustrates the tendencies and concepts of hostile classes in modern society. The latest version of philosophy is as partisan as it was two thousand years ago."

The struggle between different trends and schools of thought in the ideological sphere today is a continuation of previous ideological struggles. This struggle is likewise partisan and is closely linked with actual class and political struggles. History proves that every class proceeds from the requirements of current class and political struggles and in this process absorbs the ideas that were developed previously and transforms and develops them on the basis of its own requirements. Therefore, studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle must be combined with the study of class struggle. The study of history has all along been closely linked with actual struggles. The reason why it is necessary for us to study the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle today is to meet the needs of political struggle, consolidate proletarian dictatorship and raise our awareness of uninterrupted revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

As one type of social trend of thought, revisionism has come into being through its own "source" and "flow." To combat revisionism as much and as far as possible, it is necessary to seriously study its "source" and "flow." In China one important source of revisionism is the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The bourgeoisie and its representatives in order to meet their counter-revolutionary restorationist needs invariably have to make use of the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a weapon to attack the proletariat. In order to carry on socialist revolution and defeat bourgeois ideology and the ideas of all the exploiting classes, we must repudiate the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and sum up the historical experience of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and class struggle as a whole. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought provides us with the compass for navigating in the seas of history. Only by applying Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in the study of history can we correctly handle the relationship between the "source" and the "flow." And in so doing can we study the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle scientifically and correctly and sort out something revolutionary and systematic in the service of the present political struggle and consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

* * *

Gilbert Reid -- a Foreign Confucianist

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, October 20, 1974)

There was a foreigner who mouthed "worship-Confucius" classics all day long and was active in Chinese official and academic circles for 40-50 years from 1883 to 1927. Who was he? He was the American missionary Gilbert Reid. Devoting all his life to the formation of a reactionary cultural alliance between imperialism and Chinese feudalism, he vainly attempted to perpetuate the order of semi-colonial and semi-feudal rule in China and make the Chinese people permanent slaves of the imperialists. Today, to expose this foreign Confucianist Gilbert Reid to the public will help us recognize more clearly the true features of imperialism, revisionism and reaction in revering Confucius.

(I)

Gilbert Reid was born into a **minister's family in Lao-lai-erh,** New York, in 1857 -- the year in which the British and French aggressors, with the collaboration of Russia and the United States of America, were jointly unleashi g the Second Opium War against China in a bid to force her to "open" her door wider to colonialist countries. Meanwhile, in Christian churches in various countries some careerists who could not find any opportunity to make rapid personal advance were lured by the prospect that "the land of the Orient is full of gold" into crossing the ocean and coming to China one after another in an attempt to turn China into a "Christian" country through the so-called "overseas evangelistic" movement and thus pave the way for a meteoric rise in their social positions. As a child,Gilbert Reid was urged by his father, who saw this "short-cut," to study the Chinese language and become well versed in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. His father said to him: "Chinese Confucianism shows the distinction between Heaven and man; it is deep and infinite."* It was an indispensable magic wand for the conquest of China. Thus, Gilbert Reid, who had been all along receiving a hypocritical and deceitful education, mastered a set of tricks used by careerists, conspirators and butchers.

Having graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1882, Gilbert Reid was dispatched to China the following year.

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* Gilbert Reid, "The Words and Deeds of an American Missionary in the Illustrious House of John," see "International Bulletin" (万国公报), Vol. 9 (1897), No. 104, p. 3.

The American government, in an effort to dominate the Pacific and seize control of China, gave all-out support to missionaries going to China as an advance party for its conquest. The number of American missionaries sent to China in 1845 was only 20; it increased to 210 in 1876 and to 513 in 1889. Riding on this wave, Gilbert Reid arrived in Shantung, China and immediately joined in the dirty business of promoting imperialist cultural aggression and peddling a slavish ideology, linking his future closely with the colonial interests of the American imperialists.

Having set foot on the Chinese mainland, Gilbert Reid, under the signboard of developing the "Christian cause" and spreading the "Western gospel," began a series of criminal activities gathering intelligence, seizing private property and delivering sermons aimed at benumbing the people. Leading the attack in Tsinan in 1887, he submitted, on behalf of the Tsinan Presbyterian Church, an unreasonable request to the Governor of Shantung for the purchase of property and land in China, demanding the purchase of private houses within the city. When his request was rejected, he resorted to the tactics of a scoundrel. On November 28, "between 9 and 11 o'clock, Gilbert Reid, armed with a briefcase, broke into a residential house in that area and ordered the occupants to vacate the rooms for him. Members of that family, including the old and the young, women and children, were so frightened and astonished that they knew not what to do...."*

The outrageous act of the American missionaries in Tsinan headed by Gilbert Reid in forcibly occupying the property of the Chinese people aroused the latter's strong resistance. According to records contained in foreign newspapers in Shanghai at that time, this incident caused "the outbreak of two riots" and at least "three riot threats"** among the people of Tsinan. The United States promptly dispatched warships to carry out intimidation and the bureaucrats in Tsinan gave in shamelessly. Their conspiracy in forcibly occupying land and property succeeded temporarily. However, when Gilbert Reid was unmasked, his true features were revealed. This missionary who mouthed the "gospel" all the time was in truth an outright pirate whose hands were stained with the blood of the Chinese people.

How could they keep their foothold and rapidly expand their influence in China? Gilbert Reid remembered his father's words: seek the help of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a "knocker." This method was no new invention of Gilbert Reid's. The American missionaries W.A.P. Martin and Lin Lo Chih (林乐知), the British missionary Timothy Richard, and Keyserling, the Tsarist Russian spy who came to China

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* "Archives of the American Foreign Service," 1888, pp. 292-293.

** Ibid, 1892, pp. 73-74.

later, all followed this path. Irrespective of where they came from, all imperialists who were bent on conquering China and enslaving the Chinese people, inevitably were attracted to and made use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, this decayed and discarded reactionary ideological weapon.

As soon as Gilbert Reid landed in China, he hurried to Chufu to pay homage to Confucius. "Entering the hall and gazing at the portrait of the sage," he felt that Confucius "sat majestically above," and expressed boundless admiration for him. "I was also fortunate in having the chance to meet with his descendants." He was received by the descendants of Confucius who had been appointed officials to look after ceremonies commemorating the sage. The Confucian shop had always accorded special treatment to the "foreign devils." Before Gilbert Reid had offered a meat roll, he was already "introduced to the Confucian doctrines" and presented with a "silk scroll as a gift."*

In order to make good use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to deceive the Chinese people, Gilbert Reid conducted repeated comparative study of Confucius and other books. He "felt that the Confucian doctrines are intensive and broad; they are in fact boundless. Yet in meaning they are also temperate and practical and can be comprehended easily."** They were therefore most suitable for use as a spiritual aggressive weapon by the imperialists. So, Gilbert Reid doffed off his missionary robes and donned the cloak of a Confucian scholar. He wore a pigtail, holding the "Bible" in one hand and the "Four Books" in the other, and made his appearance in various places of Shantung. This American imperialist missionary who posed as a Confucianist vainly tried to "drive both wheels" in order to subjugate "the heart of the Chinese nation."

"Since I am well versed in the Chinese scholarship and Chinese rites, I have been able to talk with the Chinese scholars and officials and become their intimate friends."*** This was a talk by Gilbert Reid based on his experience as well as the second purpose which he hoped to achieve with the use of the "knocker." Through the introduction of the Englishman Hart, the then General Revenue Officer of the Chinese Customs, he became acquainted with Li Hung-chang, Weng T'ung-ho (翁同龢) and other important officials of the Ch'ing Government. Since then, "speaking fluent Chinese and wearing Chinese clothes," he "went in and out of the residences of members of the royal household, academicians

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* Gilbert Reid, "Letter to the Chinese Government," see "Introduction to China" (籌华刍言), p. 6.

** Gilbert Reid, "Speech on Christmas Day at Confucian University," see "International Bulletin," 1924, No. 47.

*** Gilbert Reid, "Proposal on Harmony between People and Confucianism," see "Introduction to China," p. 34.

and high government officials."* "Working in the high society in Peking,"** he became the guest of honor of the comprador bureaucrats.

In the 1896-97 period, when China's reformation movement was surging forward with every passing day, Gilbert Reid published a series of sinister articles, such as "On Exploring the Roots and Source," "On the Emergency Measures for Government Reform," "On the Border Defense of the Three Provinces of East China" and "On New Life." He proposed that to carry out the reform the government "should make use of people with a high reputation in the Western countries and who command respect both in China and elsewhere."*** This was an attempt to further encroach upon Chinese sovereignty in the name of "reform." In the article entitled "On Preserving the Old with the New by Turning the Old into the New in China," Gilbert Reid particularly stressed the indispensability of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. "Among the scores of countries on the five continents around the earth.....is there a country like China where the people, inheriting the teachings of the sages and Confucians over the ages, are compliant and good-natured and obey the orders of authority? None."+ He went all out to eulogize Confucius as "China's supreme sage,"++ saying that "China's ancient literature" constituted the foundation of "the education of the people."+++ He said absurdly that not only were the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius indispensable, but efforts had to be made to "promote practical learning and foster the Confucian cause."# By saying so, he vainly attempted to roll the wheel of history back and use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to sustain their colonial rule so as to further expand their aggressive interests in China. As a worshipper of Confucius, he had to be an opponent of the Legalists. While trying his utmost to apply

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* "Shih Wu Pao," October 11, 23rd year of Kuanghsü.

** Timothy Richard, "Chronicle of a 45 Year Stay in China."

*** Gilbert Reid, "On New Life," see "International Bulletin," 1896. p. 95.

\+ Gilbert Reid, "On Preserving the Old with the New By Turning the Old into the New in China," see "Introduction to China," p. 12.

++ Gilbert Reid, "Promote New Learning To Supplement Old Theories," see "International Bulletin," 1897, p. 102.

+++ Gilbert Reid, "Letter to the Chinese Government," see "Introduction to China" and "The Reform of 1898." The two books differ in wording.

\# Gilbert Reid, "Proposal on Founding a General Study Hall," see "Introduction to China," p. 52.

lipstick to Confucius' face, Gilbert Reid malignantly attacked Ch'in Shih Huang. He denounced the Ch'in Dynasty founded by the newly emerging landlord class as "tyrannical Ch'in," saying that "from Fu Hsi /a legendary ruler credited with the introduction of farming, fishing and animal husbandry/ to the Chou Dynasty civilization had begun in Chinese soil and flourished with each passing day, while academic learning was also broadened day after day.... Then Ch'in burned the Books of Poetry and Documents and the sayings of the hundred schools with the intention of turning the people into fools, and the fruits of academic learning available at that time were lost."* He described Ch'in Shih Huang's revolutionary action of burning the Confucian books as destruction of culture and harped on the hackneyed tunes of past reactionaries in attacking Ch'in Shih Huang. Gilbert Reid's aim in tossing out these articles was to prevent China from becoming strong and carrying out reform, so that they could firmly control the Ch'ing Government as their docile tool and plunder and enslave China as they pleased.

In order to bring up a group of henchmen and accomplices, namely, "to foster the talent and ability of the Confucian scholars, to increase the number of people above the average in intelligence and have them transform the stupid multitudes,"** Gilbert Reid "decided to set up the 'Shang Hsien T'ang' /尚賢堂 , Society for Virtuous Men/ in order to train useful people in a realistic manner,"+ and to serve the imperialist policies for aggression against China.

In the autumn of 1897, with the formal sanction of the then American imperialists' ambassador to China, **C. Denby, and** the reactionary government of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Gilbert Reid founded in Peking "a society to work for the Chinese upper class -- the China International Society, namely, the 'Shang Hsien T'ang'." The society served as the meeting place for foreign missionaries, politicians and bureaucrats of the Ch'ing Government, and ghosts and monsters. In the words of Gilbert Reid, "Shang Hsien T'ang became for the first time a meeting place for people from East and West."++ Subsequently, Gilbert **Reid** returned to the United States and then went on a tour of the various countries in Europe, where he gave vigorous publicity to **his** aggressive

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* Gilbert Reid, "Promote New Learning To Supplement Old Theories," see "Introduction to China," p. 43.

** Gilbert Reid, "Charter of Shang Hsien T'ang," see "International Bulletin," Vol. 9, 1897, Vol. 101, pp. 17-18.

\+ "Documents of Shang Hsien T'ang," see "International Bulletin," Vol. 9, 1897, **No.** 102, p. 3.

++ Gilbert Reid, "Chronicles of Events of More Than 30 Years," see "International Bulletin," 1927.

plan of founding the Shang Hsien T'ang. Under his agitation, this plan gained the support of important people in the governments of various countries including France, Germany, Britain and Russia. A newspaper of Tsarist Russia even addressed this aggressive element promoting the colonial policy in China as "China's savior,"* and applauded his conspiratorial plan.

Endless aggression by the imperialists aroused incomparable indignation of the Chinese people. In the second year of the failure of the 1898 reform, the I-ho-tuan (Boxer) Movement which shocked the country and the world erupted, and the "foreign devils" sank into the vast ocean of people's war. Alarmed, Gilbert Reid cried aloud that people had "fallen into the quagmire of despair" from the "mountain of extreme happiness."** The "Shang Hsien T'ang," his foothold for aggression, was burned, and he himself sustained an injury to his right wrist. When the aggressive joint forces of the eight imperialist countries were charging toward the Chinese people, Gilbert Reid, suddenly becoming a mad dog escaping from a bloodbath, tore off his mask and shouted wildly: "If the process of division should begin now....in this new opportunity for allocation, we should get a fair share."+ He helped the aggressive allied forces in various ways and became an interpreter for the British army. Gilbert Reid, who mouthed "benevolence and love" and "brotherhood" all the time, now revealed himself as an aggressor with honey on his lips and a sword hidden behind his back.

(II)

Because the "Shang Hsien T'ang" located in Peking was wrecked by the I-ho-tuan Movement, Gilbert Reid moved it to Shanghai -- the "paradise of adventurers." Just as a dog would never change its habit of eating human waste, Gilbert Reid's aggressive ambition was not curbed. In Shanghai, he was as active and arrogant as ever. "Maintaining contact with Peking officials," he was waiting for his opportunity. Meanwhile, he went on a lecture tour of such places as Ningpo, Hangchow, Suchow and Nanking, poisoning the Chinese people with the compounds of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Christian ideology. He preoccupied himself daily with "visiting important people as well as government officials who passed through Shanghai," giving a heart stimulant to the crumbling reactionary rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty. He set up a school. "Students need not be Christians and are not required to attend Sunday mass." The important thing was to "indoctrinate them" with "morality and religion."++

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* Ibid.

** Ibid.

+ Gilbert Reid, "The Crisis in China," p. 47.

++ Gilbert Reid, "Chronicles of Events of More Than 30 Years."

He thus poisoned not only the present China but also the future China so that the imperialists could forever ride roughshod over the Chinese people.

However, the I-ho-tuan Movement sharpened the eyes of the Chinese people once again. They further saw through the true features of these aggressors donning religious cloaks. The ideas of the bourgeois democratic revolution were gaining momentum with every passing day. In 1905 the bourgeois revolutionist Sun Chung-shan /Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ formed the T'ung Meng Hui, and in that year, mammoth anti-US patriotic movements rose in Shanghai and other places. In order to oppose the revolution of the Chinese people, Gilbert Reid used the discredited saying of Confucius -- that "few are those who are filial to their parents and love their brothers and who offend against the authority and there are none of those who do not offend against the authority and who create disturbances"* -- as a magic wand and everywhere he went he "reaffirms the principles of filial piety and brotherhood."** In advocating "filial piety and brotherhood," Gilbert Reid wanted to ask the ruling class of the Ch'ing Dynasty to unite to suppress the people's revolution and then to hand over China's territory and sovereignty to the imperialists. He vainly tried to use "filial piety and brotherhood" to prevent "riots from rising in society" and to extinguish the flames of the revolutionary movement so that the Chinese people would meekly submit to imperialist rule.

Gilbert Reid's use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to oppose the revolution of the Chinese people and to maintain the tottering reactionary Ch'ing Government attracted the attention of the US monopolist financial groups and the reactionary ruling class of the Ch'ing Dynasty. His "Shang Hsien T'ang" received at one time and another from the American imperialists 20,000 pounds and 13,000 taels of silver as subsidies. The traitorous Ch'ing Government also gave him 2,000 taels of silver and a tablet bearing the words "T'ung Chih T'ung Lun" /通志同论, People Sharing the Same Principles/ in recognition of his "aggressive merit."

With the tides of the democratic revolution continuing to rise in China, in the spring of 1910, namely, on the eve of the 1911 Revolution, Gilbert Reid again slipped back to the United States to consult his masters about counter-measures.

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* Gilbert Reid, "On the Way of Reconciling the New and Old Academic Circles," see "International Bulletin," January 1906.

** Gilbert Reid, "On Curing the Sickness," see "Introduction to China," pp. 20-21.

While in the United States, Gilbert Reid delivered a succession of lectures, crying "the people's power now fermenting in China" might "assume flood proportions."* He issued an emergency signal to his masters. At the same time, hoisting the signboard of safeguarding China's "ancient culture," Gilbert Reid talked volubly that "China should not lose its traditional teachings on human bonds and constant virtues" and "must not give up its classics."** He slandered the revolutionaries who spread the progressive theories of the West by saying that "they choose had methods instead of the good methods."+ He lauded the decadent and reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to the skies. That Gilbert Reid clung to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a life-saving straw could only prove that these doctrines were a wornout ideological weapon used by all reactionaries to oppose the Chinese people's revolution. However, this could in no way save the reactionary classes of the Ch'ing Dynasty and people like Gilbert Reid from doom.

(III)

The Revolution of 1911 overthrew absolute monarchy which had existed for several thousand years, but the fruits of the revolution were usurped by the chief northern warlord Yüan Shih-k'ai. "Like all Confucianists, Yüan Shih-k'ai was all for worshipping Confucius." (Lu Hsün, "From the Beard to Teeth," "Grave" 1925, Collected Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. 1, pp. 339-340) To restore the monarchy, Yüan invoked the dead soul of Confucius, and a group of former members of the royal household of the Ch'ing Dynasty and comprador men of letters who attached themselves to imperialism, bearing a deep grudge against the Democratic Republic, now wanted to stage a comeback and restore their lost paradise. They organized the "Confucian Society" (孔教会) to act in concert with Yüan's attempt at restoring monarchy. Gilbert Reid had lamented long ago: "If the Ch'ing Government were completely overthrown, serious disasters would follow. I believe that the spirit of the revolution is as irresistible as an epidemic."++ So, to actively encourage the adverse current of worshipping Confucius, they created public opinion in a big way for the restoration of monarchy. This gang of imperialist aggressive elements "set the guns in motion and crush the republic of 'backward' Asia, in alliance with the adventurer, traitor and friend of reaction, Yüan Shih-k'ai." (Lenin, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia,"

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* See "Chronicles of Shang Hsien T'ang," No. 7, Vol. 10.

** See "Extracts of Speeches Given by Dr. Gilbert Reid in the United States in 1911," "Chronicles of Shang Hsien T'ang," No. 2, Vol. 6.

\+ Ibid.

++ Gilbert Reid, "Chronicles of Events of More Than 30 Years."

Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 450) Reactionaries, Chinese and foreign, thus formed a still closer counter-revolutionary alliance politically, militarily and culturally.

To meet the needs of this adverse current, Gilbert Reid expanded the "Shang Hsien T'ang," creating an additional department, "The Department of National Characteristics," and especially engaged Yao Ping-jan (姚丙然), one of the founders of the "Confucius Society," to take charge of the department. Thus organizational conditions were prepared for "the mutual coordination, mutual respect, mutual encouragement and mutual assistance"* between "Confucianism" and "Christianity." In the name of "uniting the Chinese and foreign people in instilling new knowledge," Gilbert Reid recruited membership energetically. Naturally, such old-brand American aggressive elements in China as W. A.P. Martin and Lin Lo Chih became permanent members;Ch'en Huan-chang (陈焕章), a principal leader of the Confucian Society, Confucian remnant Shen Tseng-chih (沈曾植) and Chang T'ien-shih (张天師), an eminent Taoist on the Lunghu Mountains of Kiangsi,became guests of honor of Gilbert Reid, whose "Shang Hsien T'ang" "admired" just such a band of freaks. It was nothing but a black den in which the imperialist aggressive forces and the feudal diehard forces worked out their sinister plans together to continually stir up the evil wind of restoration in all directions.

As Yüan Shih-k'ai stepped up his effort to wear the yellow robe, Gilbert Reid intensified his activities to create public opinion for sending Yüan Shih-k'ai to the throne. He said nonsensically: "Now if we want to improve politics, we must show respect for Confucianism."** As for "monarchy and democracy, there is merely the difference in name, with neither having an important bearing on the fate of the nation." Gilbert Reid not only raised the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to the frightening height of "common principles of mankind,"+ but, shamelessly stealing the name of "public opinion," said: "For several thousand years China had been content with monarchy, happy to honor the emperor." "Although now the emperor changes into president and monarchy into democracy, the people are content with their traditions and psychologically still expect the harmony between Heaven and man and look to one man for the power of rule."++ Thus he described Yüan Shih-k'ai's restoration of the monarchy as "a mandate from Heaven." In addition, he blew the trumpet for Yüan's treason and dictatorship, which, he said, would enable "China,

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* Gilbert Reid, "Outline of Confucianism."

* Ibid.

\+ Ibid.

++ "Chronicles of Shang Hsien T'ang," No. 5, Vol. 1.

the most ancient, the biggest, the most consolidated and most civilized country, to appear in the world."* Thus audaciously he defended Yüan for proclaiming himself emperor.

"Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers and have formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture." (Chairman Mao, "On New Democracy," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, p. 655) While Gilbert Reid was going all out to agitate for worship of Confucius and restoration of the old order, Keyserling, a spy of Tsarist Russia, sneaked into China. This "philosophy-loving" reactionary, in a speech entitled "On Confucianism as China's Foundation" delivered in Gilbert Reid's "Shang Hsien T'ang," described the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as "China's unique roots" and "the prop of the country's new life," giving all-out support to Yüan Shih-k'ai in restoring the old order so that he, Yüan, might become a junior emperor under Tsarist Russia. With such freaks and demons dancing and barking around, there was nothing but confusion.

In June 1913, Yüan Shih-k'ai promulgated the "Order for Worship of Confucius," and to coordinate with it, Gilbert Reid hurriedly published a book entitled "Worship of Confucius," in which he said, "There is a close connection between Confucianism and the Republic; when Confucianism flourishes, the Republic will grow stronger." He inventively proposed founding a "Worship-Confucius Bulletin" and the setting up of a general organ for "worshipping Confucius." Ch'en Huan-chang and other revivalist clowns also submitted to Yüan Shih-k'ai "a petition of the Confucian Society." So, at that moment, cries for making "Confucianism the national religion" were very much in the air. Taking the opportunity to add his voice, Gilbert Reid wrote an article entitled "Reading the Petition of the Confucian Society," saying that unless "Confucianism is taken as national religion" "the future of the Republic will be placed in jeopardy."** Moreover, he expressed the hope that China would become "a country of Confucianism"*** so as to facilitate imperialist aggression.

While beating the drums and gongs for the restoration of monarchy by Yüan Shih-k'ai, Gilbert Reid naturally won the former's praise and serious attention. His "Shang Hsien T'ang" received at one time a reward of 35,000 taels of silver from Yüan. When Gilbert Reid sponsored in Peking an "all-religion assembly," Yüan Shih-k'ai not only supplied him with a place and police protection but also sent the interior vice-minister to the conference as his private representative. Therefore, the "Chronicles of Shang Hsien T'ang" at that time described this black

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* Gilbert Reid, "Outline of Confucianism."

** See "Magazine of Confucian Society," Vol. 1, No. 8.

*** Gilbert Reid, "Outline of Confucianism."

meeting as "a festive occasion without precedent in all parts of China." This precisely created the scene in which "freaks and monsters have danced for a hundred years."

Before Yüan Shih-k'ai ascended the throne of junior emperor, he not only made himself "a strange ancient crown and gown" and time and again "offered sacrifices to Confucius the sage," but also issued an order requiring all middle and primary schools throughout the country to resume the worship of Confucius and reading of the classics. Rising to the occasion, Gilbert Reid said everywhere: "When I heard the Chinese talk about abolishing the classics, I was filled with extreme fear. Now, fortunately there is the proposal to resume the reading of the classics and to start it in primary schools."* He also drivelled: Confucianism was "China's finest teaching, which the Chinese mustn't give up. Although I am a Christian, I too wish Confucianism prosperity." "Although now Confucians are not spread throughout the world, the truth of Confucianism can be applied throughout the world.** He sternly admonished the Chinese, saying they "must not discard the fundamental and pursue the secondary and try to destroy their national characteristics."+ In other words, only from worshipping Confucius and reading the classics could one find "the way to make China strong."++

History abounds in striking similarities. Today, the social-imperialists are sparing no effort to add a layer of paint to Confucius' face and singing a dirge for Lin Piao -- the Yüan Shih-k'ai of today -- with the same sinister aim as Keyserling and Gilbert Reid and the like. However, there is no way out for regression. "Yüan Shih-k'ai wanted to crush the toes of the common people but in the event hurt himself, and he died just a few months after becoming emperor." (Chairman Mao, "New Democratic Constitutional Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, p. 695) A mayfly may live from morning till the night, and freaks and demons are the same despite their differences in shape. Whether it was this small clown Gilbert Reid or social-imperialism, the colossus who appears to be strong outwardly but actually is weak inwardly, none of them have been able to check the rising revolutionary torrents, let alone brake the rolling wheel of history.

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* Gilbert Reid, "On Reading Classics in Primary Schools," see "International Bulletin," 1925.

** Gilbert Reid, "Outline of Confucianism."

\+ Gilbert Reid, "Speech at Putung Private Middle School," see "Chronicles of Shang Hsien T'ang," No. 6, Vol. 7.

++ Gilbert Reid, "Outline of Confucianism."

(IV)

In 1919, the May 4 Movement erupted. In their protracted struggle the Chinese people had gradually seen the ties between worship of Confucius and restoration, between worship of Confucius and national betrayal, and between worship of Confucius and aggression. The May 4 Movement loudly raised the slogan "Down with the Confucian shop." The year 1921 saw the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the accelerated and extensive spread of Marxism, and earth-shaking changes in China. Gilbert Reid deeply sensed this and cried out alarmingly, "I have come to China for more than 40 years, and chaos has persisted all these years, but it has been especially acute over the past decade or so."* Faced with the upsurge of the revolutionary movement, Gilbert Reid was dying to see "the sage venerated and Confucianism respected"!**

Hoisting the tattered banner of "returning to propriety," Gilbert Reid launched a frantic counter-offensive against the revolutionary torrent. He wildly cursed the May 4 Movement as "lawless" and the Chinese youths for "ignoring the principles of three kinds of fears." He babbled that to rebel against imperialism and feudalism was "not to know the will of Heaven" and "not to fear Heaven," that to "overthrow the Confucian shop" was to "defame Confucius the sage and not to revere great men," and that "for the school not to read the classics and to ban it altogether is not to revere words of the sage."*** It was an excellent thing for the Chinese people to rise up "to overthrow the Confucian shop," to topple the feudal forces and to destroy the foundation of imperialist rule. But Gilbert Reid and other aggressive elements hated it as bitterly as they hated the death of their parents. This proved more convincingly the unalterable revolutionary truth that "we must support what the enemy opposes, and oppose what he supports."

In the winter of 1922, Gilbert Reid moved "Shang Hsien T'ang" back to Peking. At that time, he published the "International Bulletin," a publication through which he created counter-revolutionary public opinion on a large scale. People of the same kind flock together. Reactionaries who were battered by the May 4 Movement and who were not reconciled to their extinction -- such as Lin Ch'in-nan (李琴南) and his like -- and Gilbert Reid quickly embraced each other under Confucius' black banner of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." A small group --

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* Gilbert Reid, "Consolation Amid Insecurity," see "International Bulletin," 1927.

** Gilbert Reid, "Reading the Great President's Order on Repairing the Confucius Temple in Chufu," see "International Bulletin," 1924.

*** Gilbert Reid, "Speech on Christmas Day at Confucian University," see "International Bulletin," 1924, No. 47.

"Association of Chinese and Foreign Friends" (中外睦友会) -- devoted to promoting worship of Confucius and restoration of the old appeared and blew up a gust of sinister wind opposing the stormy revolutionary movements of the workers and peasants.

With utmost enthusiasm and frenzy, Gilbert Reid exerted himself to make China "return to the rules of propriety under Confucianism." He spent three months touring various parts of China calling for "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." He delivered speeches successively in such places as Peking, Tsinan, Shansi, Honan, Anhwei, Tientsin and Shanghai. He particularly stressed that of "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and faith," "propriety must especially be applied by men." He said absurdly: "Love between men and world peace have much to do with propriety" because "propriety holds the general key."* That's it! Who could imagine that the man-eating "propriety" advocated by Confucius was related to "love between men" and "world peace"? No wonder that today imperialists, social-imperialists and Lin Piao and his like **have all hoisted the tattered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." In that case, the brutal exploitation of the laboring people by slave-owners, landlords and capitalists is "love between men." When the superpowers are encroaching on the territory of other countries and plundering natural resources everywhere in the world, they are of course working for "world peace." Is that not a gangster logic, pure and simple?**

How can one "return to propriety"? While in "Confucian University," Gilbert Reid imparted his experience to a small group of Confucianists. He said: First, "propriety is applied to restrain one's will and body." To let the cat out of the bag, he was merely inheriting Confucius' set of tricks such as "restraining oneself" and "tao hui" /concealment/. Second, Gilbert Reid believed that "propriety is applied to bring about harmony, which is to be prized," and that "people who do not know propriety will not love and respect one another."** In other words, people should act like Yüan Shih-k'ai who called for "running the country along lines of propriety and accommodation" and who did not hesitate to make the Chinese people slaves of a foreign power in order for him to become a "junior emperor."

After the May 4 Movement, Gilbert Reid, who occupied an "eminent place" in China, was gradually replaced by the "new-type personalities Dewey and Leighton Stuart," but he did not reconcile himself to withdrawing from the stage of history. For some period prior to his death, Gilbert Reid still had not forgotten to "restrain himself with propriety and deny himself with benevolence." He deeply felt that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius "both in depth and breadth surpass the Christian

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* Ibid.

** Ibid.

teachings." "I hate myself for not being able to understand them fully and translating them in order to teach the Westerners."* Was it accidental that an imperialist element donning the Christian cloak should become so attracted to Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety"?

"The green mountains cannot be hidden, and rivers flow eastward." The revolution kept on marching forward, and Gilbert Reid concluded his reactionary life on September 30, 1927.

After dissecting this sparrow, Gilbert Reid, we can see that the purpose of imperialism in worshipping Confucius was to conquer China with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Mr. Lu Hsün had said long before: "I think that if foreigners are to come to destroy China.... they would encourage you to **read more Chinese books and to venerate Confucius** more." (Lu Hsün, "Report on 'How Strange....'", see "Collection of Lost Articles") Today, the social-imperialists are still bent on destroying us, and are taking the lead in energetically attacking our movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and singing the praises of Confucius. By so doing, they vainly attempt to pick up again the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a "knocker" to avert their defeat in China. But history will not go backward. In the end they will **lift a** rock only to drop it on their toes and suffer more crushing defeats.

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* Gilbert Reid, "On Rea ing Classics in Primary Schools," see "International Bulletin ," 1925.

The People Are the Motive Force for the Making of History

- A tentative discussion of the relations between the struggle of the working people and the Confucian-Legalist struggle

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 9, September 20, 1974)

In the present excellent situation in which the criticize-Lin and criticize-Confucius movement is developing in a deepgoing way, vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers as well as revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals read and study books seriously and apply the Marxist viewpoint in the study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and that of class struggle as a whole. This has reversed history which has been reversed, made the necessary historical affirmation of the Legalists in ancient China and proceeded ahead with a thoroughgoing repudiation of Lin Piao's revisionist line and its ideological roots. In order to make study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle better serve consolidation of proletarian dictatorship, we must seriously study the relationship in history between the struggle of the working people and the Confucian-Legalist struggle.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force for the making of world history." This is the basic principle of historical materialism. Historically, the struggles of the Legalists against the Confucianists were all carried out in the wake of slave uprisings and peasant revolutions. And only when such struggles were backed by the masses of the people would it be possible to bring about victories to a certain extent. It would have been virtually impossible to bring about any two-line struggles between the Confucianists and the Legalists if they were divorced from the struggles of the slaves, that is, the masses of the people.

The Confucian-Legalist struggle as it occurred in history was characterized by different contents and forms of expression at different historical periods. In the course of substituting the feudal system for the slave system, the Confucian-Legalist struggle reflected revolutions in which one class was replaced by another. The Legalists were ideological and political representatives of the newly rising landlord class while the Confucianists served as the spokesmen for the declining slave-owning class. In the course of this big social upheaval numerous Legalist representatives in order to topple and remold the slave system struggled bravely against the reactionary slave-owning nobles and in some instances they even gave their own lives. However, their endeavors toward establishing the feudal system in place of the slave system would not have been crowned with success if their efforts were divorced from the struggles of

the vast numbers of the working people at that time. In the final analysis the decisive force which uprooted the slave system was derived from the class struggle of the slaves. The mass fleeing and rioting of the slaves during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods in continuous waves, particularly the massive uprising "with a following of nine thousand men" led by Liuhsia Chih, alarmed the slave-owning nobles in various states at the time by its crushing force. The resistance put up by the slaves in various forms radically tore apart the economic foundations of the slave system and created favorable conditions for the ascent of the newly rising landlord class to the historical stage. Since the Legalists who were opposed to the then completely reactionary and decayed slave-owning nobles followed the historical tide on the basis of the revolutionary uprisings endlessly staged by tens of thousands of slaves, they were able to bravely issue the slogan that "there is more than one way to rule the land and not to follow the ancient way is one of them." At the same time, though in the struggle in which the landlord class toppled the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats the newly rising landlord class had played a leading role, it was the slaves and other working people who had provided the main force of combatants when the revolution was under way. When Ch'en Ch'eng Tzu of Ch'i succeeded in seizing political power from the hands of the slave-owning nobles, he relied on the support given in the main by the bankrupt multitude and fugitive slaves of the state of Ch'i. When Shang Yang introduced reforms in Ch'in, he likewise stressed the implementation of the policy of "recruiting the people of the three Tsins for reclamation of wasteland and farming" (see Lord Shang -- Chapter on "Recruiting People") so large numbers of the working people (including fugitive slaves) could be transferred to the state of Ch'in from Han, Chao and Wei to contribute toward strengthening Ch'in in agriculture and war. Ch'in Shih Huang succeeded in unifying all of China not only because the slave uprisings had dealt stunning blows to the slave system and encouraged the six states to move toward the feudal system in various degrees which at that time provided the framework for the establishment of a unified feudal state but also his adoption of a revolutionary ideo-political line of the landlord class had won the participation and support of vast numbers of the people. It was this support that enabled him to unify the six states. As soon as unification of the Ch'in empire was completed Ch'in Shih Huang announced that the people would hereafter be called "black-headed." This elevated the social status of those slaves who had just been emancipated for the express purpose of winning the support of the working people and further uprooting the social base of the restorationist forces of the slave owners.

Why did the slaves, peasants and the newly rising landlord class, coming as they did of different classes, band themselves together at the time against the slave-owning nobles? This is because the relations of production based on the slave system had then completely decayed and declined. Except for the slave owners, other classes were all antagonistic toward them and these classes pressed for moves to change this production relationship. Since the contradictions inherent in the relations of production based on the feudal system had not been fully brought out, the various classes which had taken part in the struggles cherished hopes and

aspirations for the future of the revolution. The slaves looked to the revolution for prospects of equality and emancipation while the peasants aspired to pastoral serenity usually associated with a patriarchal society. On the other hand, the landlord class was mainly concerned with the establishment of a unified feudal empire based on centralization of state authority and landlord class dictatorship. Despite their different goals they took part in the revolution with the identical purpose of toppling the rule of the slave owners in mind. The development of history dictated the evolution of the relations of production from that based on the slave system to that based on the feudal system. Since the landlord class was the only class at the time able to produce a political program representing new relations of production, it became the leading class. This is also true of the progressive character of the Legalists. However, if the slaves and peasants were excluded from this massive struggle, the landlord class alone would have been far insufficient to achieve success.

The process of having the slave system replaced by the feudal system involved a protracted course, a course replete with strivings between restoration and counter-restoration. Not long after Ch'in Shih Huang died, the Chao Kao coup altered the governmental structure and the Legalist line pursued by the Ch'in empire. This serious attempt at restoration brought great harm to the working people. The major objective of the peasant uprising led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang was elimination of the threat of once again reducing the peasants to slavery. The uprising was also aimed at radically altering the situation since the Chao Kao coup, a situation which caused the "black-headed people to live in fear." The peasant uprising in the last year of the Ch'in period had uprooted part of the restored slave institutions and the Chao Kao government which was on the verge of fully restoring the slave system. In an objective sense, this contributed toward consolidating the newly emerging feudal system. Liu Pang succeeded in founding the Western Han empire because he had accommodated himself to the trend of history which was carried forward by peasant uprisings. Without the slave uprisings and peasant revolts which had dealt crushing blows to the forces seeking restoration of the slave system, it would have been impossible for the Legalist line of Liu Pang to triumph.

With the danger of restoring the slave system gradually subsiding in the post-Western Han period, the contradictions inherent in the feudal system became increasingly apparent. Except for some members of the landlord class who continued to keep to the Legalist line under different conditions, most of them had then renounced their erstwhile revolutionary progressiveness and instead picked up from the garbage heaps of history the Confucian line, which was looked upon as something to be treasured. Since then the two-line struggle between Confucianism and Legalism had in the main persisted within the landlord class. This struggle in varying degrees was controlled or influenced by the class struggle between the peasantry and the landlord class, reflecting in a devious way the waxing and waning of class struggle and its aggravation. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In China's feudal society only the class struggle carried out by the peasants, their uprisings and wars provided the real motive force for the

development of history. This is because after each major peasant uprising and peasant war which resulted in the decline of the feudal rule at that time, more or less impetus was given to the development of social productive forces." Generally speaking, whether or not the reform measures proposed by certain Legalist representatives in feudal society could be implemented very often was contingent on the degree and extent of the blows dealt by peasant uprisings to the decadent reactionary rule. Only after heavy blows were struck at the most decadent sectors of the feudal relations of production would it be possible for these reform measures to be successfully carried out. Otherwise, failure would often result.

The above instances occurred frequently in history. The system and practice of forming powerful families in Chinese history, which began to take shape during the Eastern Han period and reached its height after the decline of Western Tsin, reflected the most decadent and seamy aspect of the feudal relations of production. This institution guaranteed that only those whose families for generations had been the descendants of distinguished clans would be considered for official appointments. By the Southern and Northern Dynasties powerful families such as Tsui and Lu in the north and Wang and Hsieh in the south had filled important positions in the imperial court. This gave rise to the strange phenomenom that even an infant carried to the waiting carriage was automatically given an official title. Accordingly, feudal administration in the main came to be monopolized by a group of powerful clans and landlords operating within the landlord class. This not only tended to aggravate the antagonisms between the landlords and the peasants but also would speedily intensify the contradictions among the various groupings within the landlord class to the detriment of the development of the productive forces. Although most of the founding rulers of Southern Sung, Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en came of humble families, they were powerless to alter the dominance of powerful clans and landlords. Emperor Wen of Sui unified Southern and Northern Dynasties but he also was unable to radically change this trend. Only after a major peasant uprising which occurred in the last year of the Sui period were the most decadent and dark sectors of the feudal relations of production swept away. It was in the early T'ang period that Li Shih-min and Wei Cheng succeeded in having the rank gradation system replaced by the imperial examination system. Politically, certain Legalist measures were put into practice. Though later the imperial examination system was somewhat perverted and became increasingly troublesome and suggestive of something evil, it served the purpose of further adjusting the internal relationships of the landlord class when the system was first introduced in the early T'ang period. For instance, it afforded the middle and small landlords including the rich peasants better chances of entering into service with the feudal governmental structure and this tended to ease temporarily the acute contradictions within the landlord class arising from the domination of the governmental structure by the powerful clans and landlords. However, even such negligible reform would hardly have induced the powerful clans and landlords to permit other landlord class groupings to participate in the administration if the ripple was not accompanied by a major peasant uprising which erupted in the last year of the Sui period to wash away the undesirable practices. This was even more so in the case

of conditions reflected from the agrarian relations. Only after going through a massive peasant uprising would it be possible to alter temporarily the dominance of a handful of big landlords in large tracts of land throughout the empire and to enable the peasants once they were given freedom in greater or lesser degrees to raise to a certain extent their enthusiasm for production. Despite the comeback of the feudal rulers not long after the newly-founded feudal regime was stabilized and their preoccupation with increased exploitation and oppression of the peasants, the peasant uprisings which lasted even for a short period did temporarily improve the feudal relations of production and thus more or less spurred the development of social productive forces. This shows that without peasant uprisings and peasant wars, the landlord class was not even able to adjust and resolve its internal contradictions, let alone improving the feudal relations of production. The reason why certain founding rulers in history had achieved something, in the final analysis, was that they had taken advantage of the fruits of peasant uprisings and peasant wars. Therefore, viewed from the practical social impact one major peasant uprising or peasant war in feudal society surpassed the appeals for reform by hundreds of Legalists. As regards talks about the so-called "policy of concession," they were nothing more than false talks.

The struggles of the working people not only paved the way for the introduction of Legalist reform but found expression in identifying the Legalist philosophy of reform as a product of social practice with the laboring people as the mainstay. The appearance of prominent Legalist representatives in feudal society often coincided with the periods before or after the outbreaks of revolutionary peasant uprisings. Generally speaking, these Legalists represented in an economic and political sense the lower strata of the landlord class. They dared to criticize Confucian ideology, propagated certain progressive views, adopted certain reform measures and in varying degrees revealed the seamy side of the reactionary feudal rule and the decadence of the feudal relations of production. They were able to do so primarily because peasant uprisings had already pounded at and washed away the most decayed, backward and reactionary sections of the feudal relations of production. Take the Wang An-shih reform as an example. In studying its background, we should take into account the struggle for and against annexation of land in the early Northern Sung period and the impact of the peasant uprising led by Wang Hsiao-po and Li Shun.

The Legalists in Chinese history such as Shang Yang, Han Fei, Wang Ch'ung, Wang An-shih and Li Chih were all prominent anti-Confucian fighters. But at that time the main force opposed to Confucius and Confucianism in Chinese history was composed of the vast numbers of the working people. From the bugle sounded by the slave uprising led by Liuhsia Chih ushering in the anti-Confucian struggle to the anti-Confucian upsurge whipped up by the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution led by Hung Hsiu-chuan, it was the laboring people who had contributed most vigorously to the anti-Confucius and anti-Confucian cause. Since the working people were subjected to Confucian oppression the most, they had been the fiercest

and the most penetrating in opposing Confucius and repudiating Confucianism. In succeeding peasant uprisings nearly all the peasant forces wanted to demolish Confucian temples, burn Confucian Classics and kill Confucian scholars, criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius by a show of weapons. In every upsurge the peasant uprisings deflated the arrogance of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and put Confucian and Mencian preachings in great distress. This greatly spurred the Legalists' struggles against Confucianism. Judging from the developmental trend of feudal society as a whole, the steady decline of feudal society was accompanied by the receding and waning of the honor-Legalism and oppose Confucianism trend of thought among the landlord class -- with succeeding generations not having fared any better than the ones before them. However, in view of the unceasing anti-Confucian struggles of the peasants in the post-Southern and Northern Sung period, with one upsurge higher than the one before, Legalists who appeared in the latter period of feudal society like Li Chih not only dared to denounce the reactionary school of reason but went so far as to challenge the Confucian canon and incisively bare the hideous features of the diehards of their own class in honoring Confucius and returning to the old order. But in a political sense it would not have been possible for even Li Chih himself to propose revolutionary means to resolve the principal contradiction in society. This is because the feudal system, spurred by its own contradictions, was slowly but inescapably heading toward extinction. This condition explains that the firm and all-encompassing anti-Confucian struggles of the working people not only surpassed those carried on by the Legalists but Legalist repudiation of Confucianism had been propelled and deeply influenced by the laboring people's anti-Confucian struggles.

Since the Legalists in history served as the thinkers of the exploiting classes, it was impossible for them to completely defeat the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In a similar vein, the numerous peasant uprisings that occurred in feudal society were in repudiation of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius by a show of force. However, since the peasants were not representatives of the new production forces it was neither possible for them to uproot the feudal system of exploitation nor feasible to completely defeat the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The Chinese bourgeoisie through its ties with imperialism and feudalism was then inherently vulnerable. Although forerunners of that class had furiously pounded at the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius with a certain amount of success, they finally failed to fulfill the task of opposing imperialism and feudalism. The historical task of thoroughly uprooting the system of exploitation and completely defeating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius has fallen on the shoulders of the proletariat. And only the proletariat can bring about in a thoroughgoing manner the bourgeois democratic revolution, repudiate the reactionary nature of the Confucian school and correctly appraise the progressiveness of the Legalist school. Our present study of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and the history of class struggle as a whole is aimed at consolidating proletarian dictatorship and for the purpose of shouldering the historical mission of completely uprooting the exploiting classes and completely defeating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Therefore, in studying the history of the

Confucian-Legalist struggle or when we are engaged in studying and evaluating the Legalist school, we must observe, make a class analysis in the historical context and on the basis of seeking truth from facts, and sum up the historical experience of the two-line struggle in a given environment of class struggle. Only in doing so can we have a better understanding of the actual class and line struggles. And only then can we carry out the Party's basic line in a more satisfactory manner and achieve better results in further consolidating proletarian dictatorship.

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The Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie in the Bourgeois Revolution

- Some understanding after studying Communist Manifesto

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Critidism], No. 9, September 20, 1974)

The 80-odd years from the storming of the Bastille by the Parisians in 1789 to the eve of the Paris Commune revolution in 1871 were a period in which the capitalist system in France had replaced the feudal system after going through difficulties and tortuous struggles. When the French bourgeois class was bravely fighting for establishing and consolidating its rule, the French working class pressing ahead with a burst of revolutionary zeal had staged workers' uprisings at Lyons in 1831 and 1834, as well as the June uprising by the Paris proletariat in 1848. Study of Communist Manifesto (hereafter Manifesto) by Marx and Engels in respect to the class relationships between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during the ascending stage of capitalism would provide us with considerable enlightenment in our understanding of the enduring contributions of class struggle during the Ch'in and Han periods and peasant uprisings which occurred in the last years of the Ch'in period.

I

The proletarian uprisings in the bourgeois revolution was fundamentally determined by the class contradiction which had existed between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Just as Manifesto pointed out: "The proletariat has gone through different stages of development. Its struggles with the bourgeoisie commenced at its birth." We should note, however, that "only when the contradictions between the two classes develop to a certain stage will both sides resort to the external form of resistance and then revolution." As an independent political force the proletariat therefore follows a course when it is pitted against the bourgeoisie in its simultaneous struggles against the feudal forces and their remnants.

Closely linked with this process are the struggles between advance and regression, between revolution and restoration.

The replacing of the feudal system by the capitalist system constituted a significant advance in history. Prior to the French Revolution, France was under the feudal autocratic rule of the Bourbon dynasty headed by King Louis XVI. The aristocrats of the upper strata and high priests carried out ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the vast numbers of peasants, forcing them to rise in revolt innumerable times against the feudal autocratic rule. The French bourgeoisie followed this historical trend of development and led the revolution in toppling the feudal Bourbon dynasty. However, when the revolution was in progress

it was the peasants, workers and poor Parisians who really served as the main force. When the upsurge of the bourgeois revolution was approaching, it was the workers of Paris who were the first to raise the slogan "Wipe out the rich! Uproot the nobility! Eliminate speculating merchants! Down with the Catholic priests!" When the feudal nobles tried to call a meeting of the three classes to lure the bourgeoisie away from the revolution, tens of thousands of the workers and peasants gathered at the Versailles meeting in support of bourgeois demands against the feudal prerogatives. When the Bourbon ruler dreamed of calling in the counter-revolutionary troops to put out the fierce revolutionary flames, once again the vast numbers of the working people bravely stepped forward to rout them and put them to flight. In the early morning of July 14 they surmounted every difficulty and made every sacrifice before they succeeded in taking the Bastille, a stubborn citadel symbolizing the feudal autocratic rule. As the revolutionary torrent whipped up in Paris spread rapidly over the length and breadth of the country, the subsequent establishment of the bourgeois regime hastened the collapse of the feudal autocratic rule. Engels once said, "In England of the 17th century and France of the 18th century even the most brilliant achievements of the bourgeoisie were not of their own making, but were secured by the populace, that is, the workers and the peasants." The capitalist system is a social system that is more advanced than the feudal system. In this major revolution in which the capitalist system had replaced the feudal system, the various classes which had participated in the revolution viewed it from different aspects, with each class linking its own illusions with the outcome of this revolution. Through the revolution the peasants expected to recover their lost land, the workers looked forward to the emergence from the revolution of a commune in which everyone would be treated as equal. The bourgeoisie on the other hand conceived the idea of employing a new system of exploitation in place of the old. Since the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system had not been fully laid bare at that time, the various classes taking part in the revolution cherished the same fervent aspirations in toppling the feudal system. This development conformed to what Engels had observed. He said: "When one form of production is in the ascending stage as far as its own development is concerned, even those who have been losers in the form of distribution compatible with this form of production would also warmly welcome this form of production."

After the victory of the Revolution of 1789 was won, the towering bourgeois edifice which had just been erected faced the danger of restoration by the feudal forces. To consolidate the bourgeois rule and develop the capitalist relations of production, it was necessary then to strike telling blows at the attempts of the feudal restorationist forces to whip up a reactionary adverse current of rolling the wheel of history back and to make the revolution "forge ahead along the ascending line." The advent of the Feuillants amid the boom of artillery fire after the fall of the Bastille before the charging Parisians saw the rise of the representatives of the moneyed bourgeoisie who had cultivated intimate ties with the forces of feudalism. When the Feuillants began to compromise with the feudal forces and shield large numbers of fugitive nobles and priests, as well as conniving at their attempts to form a "government" in exile and when they claimed that

"common interests lies in stemming the revolution," they were quickly forsaken by the people. Succeeding the Feuillants as the ruling group were the Girondists, who represented the interests of the wealthy bourgeoisie in industry and commerce. They were apprehensive of the penetrating development of the revolution and cried in alarm that "this revolution should cease, otherwise something dangerous would happen." Finally because the Girondists had secretly colluded with the Monarchists to betray the Republic and organize counter-revolutionary revolts, they too were subsequently cast aside by the people. The Jacobin party which emerged from protracted struggles between revolution and counter-revolution as the ruling group represented the interests of the revolutionary democrats of the bourgeoisie. This group pursued a more correct line than that espoused by the Feuillants and Girondists. The revolutionary measures adopted by this group, such as those for putting down rebellions, resisting external foes and unconditionally abolishing the feudal prerogatives of the nobility, were then welcomed by the workers and peasants. When the Monarchists started revolts and disturbances in various parts of the country, the workers in urban centers and peasants in the rural areas joined forces in putting down these rebellions. When counter-revolutionary forces in foreign countries invaded revolutionary France, tens of thousands of workers and peasants volunteered for military service and proceeded in haste to the front. Thus in less than a year the Jacobins succeeded in breaking the siege laid by anti-France allied forces and subduing the rebellions of the feudal forces. It should be pointed out here that popular support for the Jacobin dictatorship, which since then had been described by many as a "rule of terror," stemmed from the fact that the bourgeoisie then was a real tiger, full of vigor and vitality, a class which was pursuing at the time a correct line. In order to flush out the muddy and filthy waters left behind by the feudal autocratic system, the bourgeoisie "had no alternative but to appeal to the proletariat for help."

In any major revolution in history only by continuously propelling the revolution forward would it be possible to consolidate the fruits of the revolution obtained during a previous period. The same holds true in the case of a bourgeois revolution. "To gather even those fruits of victory of the bourgeoisie which had then ripened and waiting only for collection, it would likewise be necessary to make the revolution far surpass this objective." On the other hand, the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class was then reluctant and unable to win a total victory for the bourgeois revolution. After less than a year of the Jacobin dictatorship it was declared that the threat of counter-revolutionary restoration was over and "there are now no more active citizens." Instead of aligning with the workers and peasants, the Jacobins then turned against them and directed the spearhead of attack at the workers and peasants. Robespierre, leader of the Jacobins, suppressed the Chaumettes, who represented the interests of the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie. This signaled the collapse of the temporary alliance forged between the bourgeoisie and the masses of the people. It was under these circumstances that the big propertied class joined forces with the Monarchists in staging the counter-revolutionary "Thermidor coup" and sent Robespierre, who had dedicated himself to the bourgeois cause, to the scaffold in July 1794. The Napoleonic coup took place five

years later and not long afterward the First Empire was inaugurated. But the reign of this bourgeois emperor did not last long either, for under the combined attacks unleashed by the counter-revolutionary forces in Europe, King Louis XVIII ascended the throne. This signalled the eventual restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France. The failures of the revolution may often bring about a series of regressions, making it impossible to consolidate the fruits of the revolution obtained even during a previous period. At the same time, however, this would often serve as the starting point for a new revolution. The resurgence of the feudal forces at that time was the direct cause of the intensification of contradictions in French society.

II

Judging from the mainstream of the development of mankind as a whole, the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty merely illustrated the "devious and tortuous development of history" throughout the struggling years in completely defeating the feudal restorationist forces and continuing to propel the revolution forward. This was just as Marx and Engels said in Manifesto: "The proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class." In the unfolding living dramas punctuated by stirring and magnificent episodes, the proletariat accomplished the mission of smashing the Bourgon restoration, a task that could not have been fulfilled by relying on the bourgeoisie alone.

The restoration attempt of Louis XVIII was contingent on the compromise between the feudal nobility and the big propertied class. This reactionary regime adopted a regressive and decadent line in place of the forward-looking revolutionary line of the French Revolution period. Its ascent was accompanied by frenzied and retaliatory counter-attacks. In less than a month more than 70,000 revolutionists had been rounded up, put to death or banished, causing the "inhabitants in the south to be submerged in knee-deep bloodbaths." At the same time, there were indiscriminate attempts to reverse previous verdicts. Louis XVIII unabashedly took steps to restore the ranks of the old aristocracy and recognize the titles of the new nobility. Succeeding Louis XVIII to the throne was Charles X, who declared he would pay one billion francs to the fugitive nobles as recompense for their property and land confiscated during the revolutionary period. The attempts of the Bourbons to re-establish their feudal autocratic rule struck blows at the developing industry embarked on by the propertied class. These criminal deeds likewise aggravated the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the workers and peasants. During the restoration period the working hours of the workmen on the average were extended to 14-15 hours daily. The so-called "Labor Identification Act" more than anything else deprived the working class of all its political rights, making the workers completely subordinate to the entrepreneurs and the police. This perverse measure to restore the feudal system intensified the contradictions that had existed between this reactionary regime and the working class. It also aggravated the contradictions between it and the propertied class and those that had existed among the bourgeoisie.

The sharpening of class contradiction inevitably led to revolutionary moves. The proletarian uprisings during this period were characterized by immense historical contributions that were beyond the reach of the other classes.

In the face of the Bourbon restoration the working class bravely rose in revolt, directing the spearhead of struggles at the feudal restorationist forces while simultaneously striking telling blows at those groups and forces among the propertied class that had worked in collusion with the feudal forces. This propelled history forward, indeed a big step forward. The July Revolution of 1830 toppled the reactionary Bourbon dynasty and established the July dynasty, a dictatorship of one grouping of the propertied class, that is, a group of financier-aristocrats. Proceeding from its own interests, this group was against the restoration of the feudal system, yet it looked upon the revolution which had smashed the feudal restorationist forces as "purely a matter of changing the head of state and nothing else." This decided the lack of determination to prosecute the bourgeois revolution to the very end and fostered futile attempts to wreck the revolution in its midway course. This group abolished the Constitution of Louis XVIII but preserved intact the state machine of the Bourbon dynasty, followed by a declaration that all laws and decrees for suppressing the labor movement would remain in force. The working class promptly came to discern the class substance of the July dynasty. They said, "We have freed ourselves from the fetters imposed by the hereditary nobility but become subjected to the oppressive rule of the moneyed aristocracy." It was precisely because of this state of affairs that the workers of Lyons resolutely started the 1831 uprising and the 1834 insurrection. Rallying under the battle cry of fighting for their "survival" which their jobs failed to secure, they fiercely attacked the July dynasty. The workers of Lyons on their part demanded that a Republic be established. Under the historical conditions which then prevailed, the workers could only aspire to a Republic of the bourgeois type. But this demand which was in keeping with the call for bringing about completely a bourgeois democratic revolution was no doubt a direct and severe repudiation of moves for compromise between the moneyed aristocracy and the feudal forces for a governing apparatus along the lines of a constitutional monarchy. From one aspect at least this was illustrative of the fact that the labor-led popular rising against authority was directed against the remnants of the feudal restorationist forces and the moneyed group of aristocrats that had shielded these remnant forces. In the face of the smoldering conflagration at Lyons the Prime Minister of the Austrian Empire Metternich had to write in panic: "It is my hope that the Lyons incident will quickly be brought to a close regardless of any forms of settlement adopted!" This incident bears proof that the Lyons uprising led by the workers struck fear among the feudal aristocracy of all European states at that time.

In a similar vein, this was also applicable to the June uprising led by the Parisians in 1848. The February uprising toppled the July dynasty. The Second Republic which was established in its wake was nothing but a "fusion between the restoration period and the July dynasty." Not

only was it unconcerned with putting down the counter-revolution but instead fanned disturbances on numerous occasions in league with the landlords and Royalists and all those that had been associated with the rightwing reactionary forces in opposition to the efforts of the proletariat to continue propelling the revolution forward. Particularly serious was the resurgence of the orthodox supporters of Bourbon restoration and the faction backing the July dynasty during the parliamentary elections called by the interim government. These groups had infiltrated into government offices in succession to bring pressure to bear on the working class at home and to collude with Tsarist Russia and the feudal aristocracy of Austria abroad in support of the reactionary forces suppressing the revolutionary movement. These reactionary measures were naturally unacceptable to the working class. Thus the first well-matched battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie commenced on June 23. The workers, fully confident that "we will never retreat," rose to attack the bourgeois order, sweeping away all the political garbage and striking stunning blows at the remnant restorationist forces of the Bourbon dynasty and their counter-revolutionary attempts at making a comeback. In historical perspective it was exactly the working-class uprisings that had prevented the restoration of the feudal forces and consolidated the ascending capitalist system. The bourgeois performance was just the opposite, such as the belief that "what is of benefit to the bourgeoisie is relying on certain residues of the old system, the monarchic system and a standing army, for instance, to oppose the proletariat," thereby making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to effect a clean rupture with the feudal system. Under the historical conditions which prevailed at that time, the working class was thus able to integrate its struggles against the bourgeoisie with those against the feudal restorationist forces. Only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie which had compromised with the feudal restorationist forces would it be possible to uproot completely all of the feudal restorationist forces and their remnants and to consolidate and develop the fruits of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

The Lyons uprising and the June insurrection of the Parisians finally all ended in failure. But as the forerunners of the new society they commanded enduring respect. This is not only because the French working class which had been tempered in the revolution began to transform from being "a class in itself" to "a class for itself," a transformation which made it possible for the consummation of the "proletariat as an organized class to become an organized political party"; but it is also due to the action of these uprisings in sweeping away the remnants of the old system which had hindered the development of capitalism that further created conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat itself. From the Marxist point of view, the more all-encompassing and resolute the bourgeois revolution, the more assured the proletarian struggle to wipe out the capitalist system becomes. It is precisely because of this point that Lenin said: "In a certain sense, a bourgeois revolution benefits the proletariat more than the bourgeoisie." Without the triumph of the capitalist system over the feudal system, it would be impossible for the proletariat to achieve emancipation. Therefore, the French workers'

uprisings in the bourgeois revolution not only cleared the path for the consolidation of the capitalist system but "prepared the only groundwork conducive to the consummation of the proletarian revolution."

The Lyons uprising and the June insurrection of the Parisians from practice likewise provided later proletarian revolutions with a wealth of experience and lessons. Manifesto by Marx and Engels is a revolutionary product that sums up the experience of the Lyons uprising and that of the labor movements in England and Germany. Manifesto pointed out: "As long as the bourgeoisie adopts revolutionary means Communists will join with it in opposing monarchic autocracy, the feudal ownership of land and the reaction of townspeople." It added: "The Communists are not unconcerned for even a single minute about educating the workers to be conscious as much and as far as possible of the hostility and antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." These observations were arrived at by the revolutionary teachers after they had examined the failures of the workers' uprisings in the bourgeois revolution and drawn bitter lessons from them. They tell us the proletariat must seize leadership power in the bourgeois revolution. Only by so doing can they carry the bourgeois revolution through to the end and continue to propel it to the socialist revolution. Therefore, we may put it this way: It is the Lyons uprising and the big rehearsal of the June insurrection by the Parisians that touched off the Paris Commune revolution. Lenin took over and developed the brilliant idea conceived by Marx and Engels. After summing up the experience of the 1905 Russian bourgeois democratic revolution, he wrote Two Tactics of the Socialist Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution. In this book he laid down the guideline for the Russian proletariat and its political party. It emphasized: "Don't turn away from the bourgeois revolution or be unconcerned about it. Never yield leadership power for the revolution to the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, participate in the revolution with the greatest effort and strive most resolutely for all-encompassing proletarian democracy and to carry the revolution through to the end." It is this line which guided the proletariat to win the victory of the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. Great leader Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. On the basis of the class struggle situation in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, he formulated the general line for the new democratic revolution period, a line for a "proletariat-led and popular revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism." Guided by this correct line, the Chinese people have unfurled the five-starred red flag that has been fluttering over Tienanmen. In a certain sense, these victories had the same links with and were derived from the same source as the Lyons uprising and the June insurrection of the Parisians.

After a general review of class struggle and workers' uprisings during the French bourgeois revolution period, we can deepen our understanding of the truth that "the people, and the people only, are the motive force for the making of world history." The bourgeois world has come into being through the valiant efforts of the masses of the people in battles. And the task of smashing the restoration of the feudal system was accomplished

by the masses of the people in wave after wave of brave combat. Using this viewpoint to assess the Confucian-Legalist struggle in ancient China, regardless of whether it involved the process of replacing the slave-owning class by the landlord class or the Confucian-Legalist struggle that occurred in the developing feudal society, in the final analysis none was not influenced and swayed by the struggles carried on by the masses of the people. Since our revolution of today is a socialist revolution aimed at uprooting all the exploiting classes and systems of exploitation, it is bound to encounter desperate resistance by all reactionaries and reactionary cliques. To prevent the restoration of the landlord and bourgeois classes, we must more firmly rely on the working class and the vast numbers of the toiling people. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us deepen the criticize-Lin Piao and criticize-Confucius movement and win a total victory of socialist revolution!

* * *

Reveal the Reactionary Features of "Women's Classics"

by

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Of more than 110 workers in our shift, 96 are women. In the course of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we have organized the worker comrades to make a mass criticism of "Women's Classics" (女儿经), a booklet which propagates the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

"Women's Classics" is a popular reader used by the feudal reactionary class to teach women. Although it contains only 53 sentences of about a thousand characters, it is filled with the poison of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, imposing numerous prohibitions and taboos on the vast masses of working women from cradle to grave. These things were like angry dogs pouncing on working women, and like ropes which bound them so tightly that they could hardly breathe. The worker comrades, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "A small booklet is like a spiritual yoke weighing a thousand catties. 'Women's Classics' are man-eating classics."

There have been various editions of "Women's Classics." It is impossible to find out now which reactionary Confucian scholar first wrote them. Judging from their content consisting of such reactionary sayings as "men are superior to women," "men are followed by women" and "the three dependences and four virtues," the copy-right holder should be Confucius of more than 2,000 years ago.

Confucius, reactionary thinker of the declining slave-owning aristocracy, in an effort to uphold the tottering slave system, produced a whole set of reactionary sermons to serve the goal of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." While doing so, he specially cast forth some fallacies against working women. He said: "Of all people, women and mean men are the most difficult to deal with." He meant that women were as mean as slaves and as difficult to deal with. "Women's Classics" says: "Women are most difficult to teach, so they must be taught from childhood.' Confucius put forward a reactionary slogan "men are different from women," forcing the vast masses of working women to admit their low standing and to be willing to be slave-maids. Thus, "Women's Classics" says: "A woman cannot be the equal of her husband and must submit to him in all things." Subsequently, reactionary Confucian scholars in feudal society further elaborated on this theme. From "the three bonds and five constant virtues" and "three states of dependence and four virtues" invented by Tung Chung-shu, a vicious dog of the Confucian shop in the Han Dynasty, to "dying of hunger is a small matter compared with loss of chastity," a saying of Ch'eng I, the Sung rationalist, a spiritual chain had dragged the vast masses of working women into limbo. "Women's Classics" further popularized the rules of propriety taught by Confucians over the ages. Their poison deepened as they were spread more widely.

"Women's Classics" sets many harsh rules governing "men's superiority to women." It says: "A woman has three rules of dependence. She must depend on her father at home, depend on her husband after she is married, and depend on her son after her husband dies." "A woman must have four virtues." "She must not be found wanting in propriety, righteousness, honesty and a sense of shame." A woman's position was so low that she practically lost all freedom of personal movement. The germs of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and "Women's Classics" were eating into the sinew of working women. In the all-evil old society, countless working women had been sacrificed to the feudal rules of propriety.

When it comes to the harm done by feudal propriety, the older women workers have an endless story to tell. They say: In the old society, "women were cheaper than a blade of grass." A lot of sayings which disparaged women were prevalent in society. For example, "soil mixed with cow dung is not fertile, and the words of women are improper"; "glutinous rice is not rice and women are not men." "A woman should follow her husband, no matter what his lot." "The death of a daughter-in-law is like the collapse of a wall, but the death of a son will bring down the whole house." They all added up to the same thing, that women are inferior to men. In our shift, we have a woman worker who has already retired. Her husband died when she was 27 years old. To observe chastity, she had to struggle on the brink of starvation to support herself and her children. Yes, she was acting in accordance with feudal propriety. However, in the old society there was no standing room for a working woman. On several occasions she was forced to re-marry. If she did so, she would be despised for losing her "chastity," but if she did not, she could not survive. Finally, she came to Shanghai and worked in a factory, where she found herself brutally oppressed and exploited by the capitalist. The life of this retired woman worker is an epitome of that of millions upon millions of miserable women in the old society. Many women workers have strongly condemned "Women's Classics" by telling of their bitter past.

"Women's Classics" not only sets down numerous rules governing "men's superior status," but goes all out to propagate such sinister stuff as "class reconciliation" and oppose the participation of the vast masses of working women in class struggle. It says: "Uncles are your kinsmen." "Let's all live a happy life." We worker comrades cited a great deal of facts to expose the hypocritical and deceptive nature of this reactionary saying. In a class society, "silk does not mix with cotton and the rich do not mix with the poor." The exploiting class and the exploited class are opposed to each other like fir and water. Owing to different class standing, even "uncles" were no "kinsmen." In our shift we have a woman worker born of a poor peasant. When she was sixteen, she was recommended to work in a textile mill by her uncle, who was a foreman. A niece was originally a "kinswomen." However, while living in her uncle's house, she was given only leftover and had to sleep in a corridor. Each day, after working in the factory for more than ten hours, she had to do household work when she returned home. For three years this "uncle" not only took

all her wages but asked her to pay back the cost of her meals in three years when he drove her from his house. It can be seen that in a class society, "kinship" doesn't count.

The saying that "let's all live a happy life" was deceptive. Our mill was formerly known as "Jen Te [benevolence and virtue] Textile Mill." But a signboard was no more than a signboard. When did the capitalists ever practice "benevolence" or "virtue" toward us workers? When were they willing to let us workers live one minute of "happy time"? At that time, women workers in the mill had a bag of deep grievances. The capitalists forced girl workers eight or nine years old to work beyond their physical capacity. Even on cold days and with rain or snow falling, they would not let us have a mouthful of hot rice. A woman who became pregnant or sick was sure to be fired. Many of our old workers had enough of "benevolence and virtue" in the old society. It can be seen that "let's all live a happy life" was aimed at preventing the workers from rebelling and women from making revolution so that the exploiting class could enjoy "a happy life" from generation to generation.

"Women's Classics" also advocated the doctrine of the mean, saying "one who does not quarrel is wise," thus asking the vast masses of women not to be concerned about class struggle but to be a "virtuous woman" who "does not quarrel with anyone." It says that "virtue is treasure in the house." "Do not care about others." This was obviously designed to induce the working women to meekly submit to their fate and to be docile tools oppressed and exploited by the reactionary ruling class. In a class society, both "right" and "wrong" have a class nature. The proletariat has its own "right" and "wrong", and so does the exploiting class. There have never been "virtuous" people "free from controversy," but only muddle-headed people who could not tell right from wrong. Before the liberation, we women workers, smashing the order that "women should not go out of their house except for business," waged a resolute struggle against the capitalists. After the liberation, we have brought our role into full play in the three great revolutionary movements. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a counter-revolutionary element in our workshop resisted reform and attempted to reverse the verdict passed on him, and he also cursed the socialist system and attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat. On such a big issue of right and wrong, we waged an uncompromising struggle, and it was "our business" to do so.

On the surface, "Women's Classics" is concerned only with the question of women, but it actually goes far beyond that. The question of women is also one of class struggle. Actually, abuse of women by Confucius and his followers has been linked with political struggle. Confucius said: "The distinction between man and woman is one of the major regulations of the land." Evidently, he was trying to make "women subordinate to men" one of the supreme principles of government. Some more progressive thinkers in history also invariably regarded opposition to the rules of propriety which held women in bondage as an important aspect of opposing Confucius and Mencius. The Ming Legalist Li Chih, in his courageous battle against

Confucius and the school of reason, refuted the hackneyed view that "far-sighted are men and short-sighted are women," and criticized the feudal saying that "dying of hunger is a small matter compared with the loss of chastity." The T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo Movement, as a major anti-Confucius movement in modern China, put forth the view that "all men are brothers and all women are sisters." Like men, women in T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo were given land to plow. There were women soldiers and generals in the T'ai-p'ing army and women officials in the court. Both men and women took part in productive labor. Prostitution, feet binding and pre-arranged marriages were forbidden. This was a relatively simple idea of women's liberation. However, no real emancipation of women could be achieved under a system of exploitation. As Lenin said, the system of private ownership "placed women in the position of double slavery." ("On the Liberation of the Women Worker Movement") Hence, women can be saved from their low standing only under socialism after the destruction of the system of private ownership.

"Women's Classics" has been circulating for many years. The victory of the Chinese revolution has provided the most thorough criticism of "Women's Classics" both in theory and practice. The success and development of the Chinese revolution have in turn fully attested to the great truth that women "are a force determining the success or failure of the revolution." "The sons and daughters of China have high aspirations." New China's women, standing in the van of struggle, can prop up "half of the sky." From among women workers of our mill, tempered in the great cultural revolution, a large group of young women cadres has appeared. In our shift alone, we have sent five women workers to the higher level to take part in the work of leading bodies at various levels. Now, all section heads in our mill are women. Women are playing an ever more prominent role in the three great revolutionary struggles. These iron-clad facts are a forceful criticism of "three dependences and four virtues" and "men are superior to women" advocated by "Women's Classics." They are also a forceful criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company who said that women "are born backward in thinking" and "can only do household chores."

Facts prove that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius have not been able to halt the march of China's revolutionary women. However, the struggle over whether to belittle women or bring their role as "half of the sky" into full play is by no means over. Like Wen Ch'i-chiu in the "Azelea Mountain" who tried to undermine the revolution by saying that "a woman rules a seven-foot man," class enemies will never give up such junk as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and "Women's Classics." Antonioni, the anti-China clown and jackal of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, in his reactionary film "China" did much to demean women. Using despicable tricks, he trailed behind with his camera an old woman with bound feet, and showed how she walked in close-ups in order to demean the women of new China as well as demeaning socialist new China. Facts point to the opposite. The two kinds of society are worlds apart. Thanks to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, women have become the masters of the house and country. Today, women comrades of our shift, like their male counterparts, are actively taking part in the three great revolutionary struggles, throwing themselves into

the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and bringing their role into full play in various fields of work. They are trail-blazers in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and pace-setters in technical innovations. Their revolutionary spirit is soaring and their features as producers are changing daily. Antonioni, anti-China clown, why didn't you shoot these scenes?

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, revealing the reactionary features of "Women's Classics" in propagating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius has further aroused the enthusiasm of worker comrades in grasping revolution and promoting production. "The victory of the Chinese revolution has emancipated us women, and we women must make an effort to contribute greater victories to the Chinese revolution." Everyone of us has pledged to do so!

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END

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